Politics of Space and Notes on a Gated Community in South Africa

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Abstract

Citizens of the 21st century make their worlds in accordance to how they perceive space objectives. The related complexities include the globalization of space, the taking back, and as a necessary but scarce resource. Epistemologically speaking space exists no longer in the political domain only and the contest therefore involves different methodologies as are the diverse re-shaping thereof; the sense of who space belongs to, and role of the public domain in determining the outcomes of relative dispositions towards scarce space. The fact that space has been demarcated from earliest memory has today a seamless relationship with civil/human rights interests; relations between humans amongst themselves and their limited habitable environment. Some observers question the moral and sustainable emergence of gated communities and their bourgeois nature.

1. **Introduction**

At the most basic level, humans think and talk in everyday language about the limitless (infinite) space in the sky – a perceived region that is beyond Earth's atmosphere – or even beyond the solar system.[1] We marvel at wide open spaces in nature; sometimes we express the need for more space, e.g. in the car, house (private sphere) or office (public sphere).[2] Often people also refer to 'my space', generally meaning the place that they created that serves 'them' (as individuals or as a group) well. It is in such 'space' that others are expected not intrude with interests of their own. This seems to be the 'place' that we want to occupy, immersed in our own 'downtime'[3] – frequently referred to as 'me-time'. Accordingly, this is our 'individual' or 'private' space, and crudely stated, where one wants to be left alone. But peripheral questions remain: 'where' is this space or, 'how' and for 'how long', can one possibly be 'there'?

The argument in this article proposes that the gated community of Sun Acres (Seafield, Eastern Cape, South Africa) fulfils such, and other related purposes that people assign to gated space.

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[1] See <studio-render.com/blog/?p=160> 'Is Space Political?' 24 February 2010.
[2] Tibe-Bonifacio, G.L.A. *Filipino Women and their Citizenship in Australia: In Search of Political Space.* Ph.D. thesis, School of History and Politics, University of Wollongong, p.232.
[3] Cameron, J. *The Artist's Way. A Spiritual Path to Higher Creativity,* pp.48, 96.

Still, the problem remains. Whilst it appears that people can seemingly remain alone, the reality is that they are at any moment in time, not disconnected from the rest of the world. Since individuals do not exist in complete and permanent isolation, *meaningful* human life is simply not possible outside society.[4] Although people (sometimes) want to be 'unconnected', their thoughts can realistically speaking, never be 'external' to the (their) real world. Sensory perceptions can neither all of a sudden stop functioning, therefore cutting them (and in so doing, people) off from the rest of the world, nor can human memory be ignored.

Amongst the many disciplines that study the past, History, for instance, is only one branch of memory studies that in one way or another, reflects on human past connections. In essence, all (but not only) memory studies refute the possibility of humans being ahistorical. The result is that somehow we remain connected – in time and space – be it in respect to home space, work space, travel space, play space, or protest space. Thus, there is a certain physicality and connectivity about space – past, present and future. It includes tangible interactions of people with the social Other. This is so because time has always been everywhere, and 'everywhere' has existed since time immemorial. From this, one cannot escape. It follows that people's interactions produce, and then take up space in which they are situated at any point in time.[5] To complicate matters, opponents however, would argue that there is no physical proximity of space.[6] Both views are different angles at how we make our worlds.

The concern in this article is neither about what comes first: time, space or place – nor the proverbial chicken, hen, or egg, analogy but rather relationships within such. Challenges to assign meaning to space and the difficulties to come to terms with the meaning of 'meaning' will be dealt with in the next section.

Fortunately, in the world of academia, J. Hochschild proposed in 2011 that '[p]olitical science would benefit from a more systematic study of the politics of space, analogous to recent work done on the politics of time'.[7] But defining politics of space remains a nebulous affair since it encompasses a multiplicity of supra-national[8] drivers. Max Horkheimer (founder member of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt and one of the first exponents of Critical Theory) for instance, suggested that 'to recognise the space in which one finds oneself, one must discover its limits'.[9] This

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[4] Campbell, T. *Seven Theories of Human Society,* p.3; See also Postone, M. and B. Brick. 'Critical Theory and Political Economy', in Benhabib, S., W. Bonß, and J. McCole (eds.) *On Max Horkheimer. New Perspectives,* pp.230 ff.

[5] For a discussion about historicism, see for instance Popper, K. *The Poverty of Historicism.*

[6] Ibid., p.7.

[7] Hochschild, J. 'Searching For a Politics of Space.' <scholar.harvard.edu/jlhochschild/publications/searching-politics-space>, 2011.

[8] Hopkins, A.G. 'Introduction: Globalization – An Agenda for Historians', in Hopkins, A.G. (ed.) *Globalization in World History,* p.1.

[9] Horkheimer, M. *Dawn & Decline. Notes 1926-1931* and *1950-1969,* p.76.

also means that the 'nature of society and the individual, is seen from the outside'.[10] These 'limits' are rarely defined, probably remain ill-defined or worse, are most likely undefinable. Dialectically speaking, the question nevertheless still endures: for instance, are there limits to space and time? The answer to this question is not our focus in this article but it does have a bearing on the issues surrounding an understanding of politics of space.

In order to follow up on Hochchild's view, this article attempts, firstly, to give a cryptic outline of the politics of space in a manner that suggests that the framework is neither 'detached from practical life'[11] nor restricted thereto. The point of departure is Henri Lefebvre's renowned work *The Production of Space*. The second objective is to apply the principles of the politics of space to the everyday life in a gated community in the Eastern Cape (South Africa).

At the outset it is important to acknowledge that Karina Landman's treatment of Bruns' distinction between gated communities, gated lives and gated minds, is useful for this article. The differences according Landman are as follows: '*Gated communities* refer to physical areas that are protected by walls and gates and a range of other security measures aimed at restricting access into the area. *Gated lives* define those living in gated communities (i.e. behind walls), but may also include those who live separated or segregated lives based on fear or problems related to 'fitting in'. Finally *gated minds* refer to individuals who portray minds or behaviours that are full of 'barriers and gates' that separate them from others around them, including characteristics such as dislike, hatred and contempt for others.'[12] In our view, treating them not as mutually exclusive would assist in moving away from a mode of existential insecurity in a still (2013) deeply divided South Africa. South African history is inextricably linked to violence and the relationship between law and justice. For Walter Benjamin, for instance, "violence is a natural product … misused for ends."[13] This resonates well with the history of the politics of space in South Africa. Two examples will suffice: the struggle against apartheid pre-1994 and civil strife thereafter for better service delivery by the ANC government, underscores this observation. How these two themes relate to the politics of space warrants empirical research of its own.

From the first days of European settlement in South Africa in the mid seventeenth century, and as European settlements gradually spread inland, built fortifications followed the spread of all peoples across South Africa. Resultant class stratification (segregation) can thus be traced back to Van Riebeeck's establishment of the Castle at the foot of Table Mountain on behalf of the Dutch East

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[10] Ibid., p.77.

[11] Noerr, G.S. 'Editor's Afterword.' 'The Position of "Dialectic of Enlightenment,' in the Development of Critical Theory', in Horkheimer, M. and T. W. Adorno. *Dialectic of Enlightenment.* (Edited by G.S. Noerr, and Translated by E. Jephcott), p.217.

[12] Landman, K. 'Gated Minds, Gated Places: The Impact and meaning of Hard Boundaries in South Africa', in Bagaeen, S. and O. Uduku (eds.) *Gated Communities: Social Sustainability in Contemporary Historical Gated Developments,* p.49. (Emphasis in original.)

[13] Benjamin W. *One-way Street and Other Writings,* pp.1-2 ff.

India Company.[14] But fortifications are not only a white settler import. Suffice to state that gated communities existed from biblical times through the centuries; later amongst primitive African tribes, and continued to spread in its different twenty-first century manifestations into modern urban South Africa. Already twentieth century popular culture, testified to the future existence thereof. Landman is quite correct in her conclusion that 'gated places are often influenced by gated minds and that in South Africa this spans across history and is likely to influence future development as a continuation of an old narrative'.[15] Important is it might be, a way out, in our view, is to move away from a narrow *apartheid* typology of explanation. The reality is that other societies have done so and moved on. The continued *blame apartheid syndrome* restricts enlightened thinking about past and present South African realities. Lastly, it does not lend itself to a balanced perspective of the dialectic of the creation and contestation of space. One example will suffice: any procedural understanding of the past cannot escape the fact 'that articulations, practices and perceptions persisting from the colonial era could influence and hamper …'[16] truth claims – in fact, it can be argued that such constitutes the phenomenon of 'gated minds'.

This article will attempt to develop a set of distinct research clusters (or research domains) that could help to organize future research.[17] It is therefore only a first word and not a last salvo on the topic and most certainly, not only confined to political science. Instead, the challenges to understand the politics of space continue to require interdisciplinary research efforts. Excluded from this discussion is any focussed analysis of the two logically constituent components of space, namely time and place. And of course, space is also geo-temporally confined because the production of space is part of our worldmaking.[18]

In a previous article, I referred to the 'seemingly unproblematic two-dimensional conceptions of space, as being naturally discontinuous'.[19] Epistemologically viewed, this implies the *re*-territorialisation of space. It scrutinises traditional views of imagined cultures and places with their apparent natural connections between peoples and their respective spaces. For the sake of brevity we will state one example. Today, practically every publication in social sciences deals with globalisation

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[14] Landman, K. 'Gated Minds, Gated Places: The Impact and Meaning of Hard Boundaries in South Africa', in Bagaeen, S. and O. Uduku (eds.) *Gated Communities: Social Sustainability in Contemporary Historical Gated Developments,* pp.49–61; Welsh, F. *A History of South Africa,* pp.xxii ff.

[15] Landman, K. 'Gated Minds, Gated Places: The Impact and Meaning of Hard Boundaries in South Africa', in Bagaeen, S. and O. Uduku (eds.) *Gated Communities: Social Sustainability in Contemporary Historical Gated Developments,* p.59. (Emphasis in original.)

[16] Rempe, M. 'Decolonization by Europeanization? The Early EEC and the Transformation of French-African Relations.' Working Paper No.27, May 2011, KFG. The Transformative Power of Europe. Freie Universität of Berlin. <www.academia.edu/4276700/Decolonization_and_the_Transformation_of_The-Early EEC_ and-the_Transformation_of_French-African_Relations>, p.6; See also Engelbrecht, C. 'Marx's Theory of Colonisation and Contemporary Eastern Cape (South Africa) Historiography.' 2012. <http://independent.academia.edu.christoengelbrecht/papers/1755482>

[17] Nordic Africa Institute. 'Research.' <www.nai.uu.se/research>

[18] Rapport, N. and J. Overing. *Social and Cultural Anthropology. The Key Concepts,* pp.391-394.

[19] Engelbrecht, C. 'The Kowie History Museum and Historical Research.' 2013. <independent.academia.edu.christoengelbrecht/papers>, p.6.

– and correctly so.[20] The concept of the 'Whole Earth' is a 'tool that opens humans to a new perspective about the relationship on the individual to the planet, and to the other creatures living on the planet, especially the other people'.[21] In reality it has become more pronounced with the arrival of the nuclear age since nuclear weapons have made Earth both the target and victim of modern technologies. Its destructive capacities have blurred all spatial boundaries and have effectively made the world into one single ecosystem.[22] All other micro-ecosystems are consequently coincidental. This thinking opens new debates on the politics of space and worldmaking.

The longstanding belief that the primacy of politics stems from the conviction that society's 'dominated masses attribute world events to politics',[23] seems secure. Stated more directly, the view that everything in life seems to be directed by the political, can indeed been traced back to the writings of Plato. David Easton's definition of politics is closely related to this view.[24]

Following Easton, the politics of space is for the purposes of this article provisionally defined as 'the authoritative allocation of scarce resources and values in respect of space'. No wonder, the rise of the belief that material conditions are determined by political life that shape humankind, dates back centuries. This has been contested ever since. To take one example, Horkheimer's understanding of Machiavelli in both *The Prince* and the *History of Florence,* clearly shows the primacy of politics[25] in everyday life. Simplistically summarised, the prince rules the state (or principalities) by employing power to control civilian and military life with the primary aim to secure his own position as the ruler.[26]

Since society in its entirety is subjected to the political, it therefore dictates that the politics of space operates in more than one *spectrum.* For instance, there is not only the *political* spectrum, but also, the *economic*, the *social*, *cultural*, *psychological* and *environmental* spectra of space – simply because society does not consist of only the political. These spectra appear to have two characteristics in common: firstly, the *politics* involved in their respective spectrums, and secondly, every spectrum comprises of a number of *spheres.* As an example, political spaces operate at a multitude of levels in the 'political spectrum' of the politics of space. It is in dealing with these variables that the affluent in gated communities seek to maintain their sense of social justice in attempting to seek some form of

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[20] Engelbrecht, C. 'Globalization Theory and Reference to Aspects of Eastern Cape (South Africa) History.' 2011. <http://africalit.nai.uu.se/exlibris/aleph/a18>, pp.1-10.

[21] Jacobs, R. 'Whole Earth or No Earth: The Origin of the Whole Earth Icon in the Ashes of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.' <http://japanfocus.org/-Robert-Jacobs/3505?rand=134908340&type=print&print=1>

[22] Ibid., pp.2-3.

[23] Noerr, G.S. 'Editor's Afterword.' 'The Position of 'Dialectic of Enlightenment' in the Development of Critical Theory', in Horkheimer, M. and T. W. Adorno. *Dialectic of Enlightenment.* (Edited by G.S. Noerr, and Translated by E. Jephcott), p.234.

[24] Easton, D. *A Systems Analysis of Political Life.*

[25] Horkheimer, M. 'The Beginnings of the Bourgeois Philosophy of Science', in Horkheimer, M. *Between Philosophy and Social Science. Selected Early Writings,* pp.313-388; See also Althusser, L. *Machiavelli and Us,* pp.5-32.

[26] Machiavelli, N. *The Prince,* pp.3-11.

economic integration with the immediate surroundings that contribute to the elimination of social discontent.

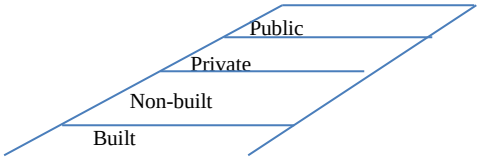
This first approach, or the traditional view of the concept of "spectra", is summarized as follows:

Traditional view of the politics of space

Political	1. Virtual or Global politics
spectrum	Privatised spaces
of	Simulated spaces
the	Communal spaces/public spaces
Politics	2. Housing politics Gated communities
of	3. Walking politics
Space.[27]	

As a provisional alternative, the following is proposed:

Proposed framework for analysis



Spectrums	**Spheres**
1. Political spectrum	Global (or virtual) *Privatised *Simulated *Communal spaces/public spaces
	Housing *e.g. Gated Communities
	Walking politics
2. Economic spectrum	
3. Social spectrum	
4. Cultural spectrum	
5. Psychological spectrum	
6. Environmental	

The above is merely an extension of a previous outline. Thus: from the discussion so far, it is clear that in order to understand if space is political, we first need to understand what space is. For such methodology, a few cryptic observations about 'meaning' will set the tone.

[27] <Housing+ Wiki. Studio 8 – Sheffield School of Architecture> 'Political Space.'

2. Meaning, understanding and the complexity of politics of space

Cognitively speaking, 'meaning' is important in all forms of communication[28] since it forms the basis for mutual understanding. In this sense, meaning conveys (or signifies) something between communicating parties. Paradoxically, meaning is often also the source of misunderstanding. Between these two poles is a need to understand 'meaning'. An understanding of 'meaning' is only possible if the meaning thereof is accurate, clear and consistent,[29] and reflects a high level of correspondence between the constituent parts. Karl Popper, for instance, advocated a balanced perspective between having to define what we mean, and the absurd impracticality of having to define every word before we can understand one another. Such endeavour would in any event lead to futile discussion.[30]

The common sense view of meaning claims that the external world consists of physical objects (e.g. a tree, park or plaza). People become aware of them through their senses[31] and have different experiences. Take the written or spoken word in language communication as an example: words and sentences are not, and do not only refer to mental states or events. The use of words forces an awareness that they also convey ideas (e.g. of space as an idea). In this kind of everyday communication, it is understood that someone 'grasps' or 'gets the idea' or essence of what another has in mind (or so we think).[32] Whilst meaning is a mental state, understanding, on the other hand, is said to be *experiencing* this mental event. The actions of people in response to the meaning of words are often not automatic (or predictable), because the 'essence' of what is meant, is not always clearly explained, let alone justified. Secondly, responses to the meaning of words are not universal because people understand and behave differently, as are their varying experiences and or goals (interests). Thirdly, an understanding of 'meaning' lies in the manner of its employment.[33] For Arnold Brecht, for instance, the common sense view functions on logical reasoning on which scientific methods are based.[34] Of course, the different uses of a word are present in at least two forms: the literal/factual meaning,[35] and the figurative meaning. John Passmore referred to *internal* meaning (depending on the purpose it fulfils) and the *external* meaning (an idea's reference to something beyond itself).[36] But

[28] The teleological aspect of meaning falls outside of this discussion. See for instance, Meyerhoff, H. 'History and Philosophy', in Meyerhoff, H. *The Philosophy of History in Our Time. An Anthology.* (Selected and with an Introduction and Commentary by H. Meyerhoff), pp.7-8.
[29] Kent, S. *Writing History,* p.75.
[30] Popper, K. *The Open Society and its Enemies. Vol.2. Hegel and Marx,* p.19. We will see that objects of space are no longer sufficient conditions for the understanding of complex systems, such as space, for instance.
[31] Joad, C.E.M. *Guide to Philosophy,* pp.24-25.
[32] Taylor, D.M. *Explanation and Meaning. An Introduction to Philosophy,* p.141.
[33] Ibid., pp.143-144, 155, 183.
[34] Brecht, A. *Political Theory. The Foundations of Twentieth-Century Political Thought,* pp.53, 55.
[35] Ayer, A.J. *Language, Truth and Logic,* p.20.
[36] Passmore, J. *A Hundred Years of Philosophy,* p.93.

even then, people are still not always all on the 'same page'. Popper said the same thing when he referred to the distinction between individual concepts *per se* and universal concepts of meaning.[37]

The traditional understanding of meaning stems from empiricism. Popper argued that although 'we all have a *vague* idea of the meaning of the words we use, and then assume that others use them in the same sense,[38] mutual understanding is fortunately still reached on the basis thereof, despite the inherent shortcomings. On the other hand and scientifically more correct, definitions of meaning require factual propositions in order for meaning to be meaningful.[39] There was a time in the history of the philosophy of science when the 'plurality of laws'[40] were highly regarded as a minimum condition for ensuring any meaningful understanding. Consequently, for the empiricists, a cognitively significant assertion is either true or false; it must be testable and must have a purely logical structure.[41] So viewed, everything people think of, and regardless of the language employed to articulate their thoughts, they must still fulfil the fundamental prerequisites of the reflection of a particular reality in thought[42] or else it would be impossible to see the wood for the trees. As mentioned before, this requirement is made more complicated by the fact that society and the individual are inseparable.[43] Implied are different beliefs – not only of private nature, but rather of an inter-subjective nature because reality cannot be known independently.[44] In a sense, people see and understand what they want to,[45] often at the exclusion of the Other – small wonder space is contested.

The above situation changed with the arrival of postmodernist thinking. Postmodernists were no longer certain – 'existential uncertainty'[46] – about determining the scope of 'meaning'. Their argument was that anything can mean anything. As a result the multiplicity of meanings serves only 'a *particular* action'.[47] Language (including written texts), I argue here, is political. As a consequence (and if this is true), everything, including space, is politics, including all forms of the written word. In this sense, meaning has a *specificness* associated with it despite the globalization of knowledge that complicates understanding of meaning. More than three decades ago, E. P. Thompson, for instance, raised concerns about 'an increasingly international discourse'[48] and the paradoxical obstacles to such discourse.

Given the above, the meaning of space does not take place outside the fabric of society – neither can its practice. Of course, societies are subjugated by culture (its own and that of nature) and

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[37] Popper, K. *The Logic of Scientific Discovery,* pp.43 ff.
[38] Popper, K. *The Open Society and its Enemies. Vol.2. Hegel and Marx,* p.19. (Emphasis added.)
[39] Popper, K. *The Open Society and its Enemies. Vol.1. The Spell of Plato,* p.254.
[40] Meyerhoff, H. *The Philosophy of History in Our Time. An Anthology.* (Selected and with an Introduction and Commentary by H. Meyerhoff), p.21.
[41] Hempel, C.G. *Aspects of Scientific Explanation and other Essays in the Philosophy of Science,* p.101.
[42] Cornforth, M. *Dialectical Materialism. An Introduction,* p.50.
[43] Carr, E.H. *What is History?,* p.31.
[44] Hughes, J. *The Philosophy of Social Science,* pp.93-94.
[45] See *deformation* in section 6, below.
[46] Preiser, R. 'Wat is Kompleksitiet?' <www.litnet.co.za/Article/wat-is-kompleksiteit> 2012.
[47] See <studio-render.com/blog/?p=160> 'Is Space Political?'> 24 February 2010. (Emphasis added.)
[48] Thompson, E.P. *The Poverty of Theory and Other E*ssays, p.(iv).

therefore have their own meaning of things. In fact, society produces space. For instance, there is no space outside the exchange world in capitalist (and other) societies. Since space is determined by events in society, space is truly affected by society – and, as we have indicated above, is not exclusively the property of the political. This gives rise to the view that meaning appears against the surroundings of *contingency* of the Other spheres was well. If there is no probability for being different, then there can be no meaning, since meaning is relative to the 'Other'. George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman put this as follows: '[a]ction only has meaning to the extent that a selection is made from among a range of possible actions'.[49] Therefore: meaning is limited to itself against possible other meanings.

In this regard, cryptic observations about H-G. Gadamer on meaning, might be helpful. Gadamer's hermeneutics put an end to diverse suppositions which have become the norm in methodological reflections on human sciences.[50] This implies that there are 'other legitimate forms of experience and inquiry which are not amenable to scientific method, e.g. the experience of art, history, politics.…'[51] The suggestion is that outside the scientific method, the meaning of a text is never purely a function of facts.[52] Instead, it is also a function of the *historical situation* of interpretation.[53] In so doing, Gadamer moved the historical dimension of understanding to the foreground of meaning[54] – they are however, not mutually exclusive.

Recently, S.B. Garba confirmed that there is an increasing realization about the historical dialectical connection between space and society. From this understanding stems the advancement of theoretical and methodological approaches that spell out this relationship between space and society. This leads to the 'growing ontological importance of history, time and change in the examining of social and special phenomena'.[55] Naturally, increased attention to history poses important questions for future empirical research. One observation will have to do. In studies about the relation between people and their environment (including the built environment), keywords such as 'behaviour' and 'environment' are frequently used. Their usage characterises the current and future symbiotic relationship between people and their environment. How the future environment will be affected by people will depend on their impact thereon at any particular point in time. For instance, K.A. Franck

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[49] Ritzer, G. and D.J. Goodman. *Sociological Theory,* p.322.

[50] Van Veuren, P. 'Hermeneutic Positions on Scientific Rationality', in Snyman, J. (ed.) *Conceptions of Social Inquiry,* p.124.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Engelbrecht, C. 'Limitations in History. Part 1. Problems with Historical Facts.' <independent.academia.edu.christoengelbrecht/papers> 2013, pp.1-12.

[53] See Popper, K. *The Poverty of Historicism.*

[54] McCarthy, T. *The Critical Theory of Jürgen Habermas,* p.174.

[55] Garba, S.B. 'Incorporating Time and Change in EBC Research: Lessons From the Examination of the Public Space of a Traditional City', in *The Death and Life of Social Factors.* <www.ced.berkely.edu/downloads/events/sp11/ucb_death-life-social-factors-2011_conference_publication.pdf>

substituted 'behaviour' with 'use' and 'environment' with 'space'[56] on order to distinguish between variables.

The politics of space has been defined as 'the authoritative allocation of scarce resources and values in respect of space.'[57] Obvious as this might seem at first glance, the situation in real life is more complex. Complexity (as a relatively new field of study) developed from General Systems Theory, Cybernetics, and Artificial Intelligence.[58] It is not a phenomenon that can be studied in isolation. Instead, complexity reveals associated problems[59] in their dynamic relationships or organisation relative to their environment.[60] In this manner it is antireductionist in nature and cannot escape the need for empirical research.[61] Probably the most important value of theories of complexity is that they continue to critique traditional theory.[62]

This re-evaluation (critique) of traditional theories[63] stems from the question about human 'modern development' and its alleged 'modern achievements'. Max Horkheimer discussed numerous times in his writing career how, despite modern technological achievements, 'humanity instead of entering a truly human state, is sinking into a new kind of barbarism'.[64] The same point was made by R. Preiser as follows: '[a]lthough our contemporary world developed in ways in which Kant could not have dreamt, all our technological advancement, political freedom and scientific discoveries have not brought us closer to finding solutions for eliminating poverty or for preventing war and social injustice or crime against humanity.'[65] This inability of people to solve complex problems was termed by Conklin as "wicked problems", meaning the solving of one brings up unexpected new problems.[66]

Theories of complexity moved away from the traditional view of complexity as an 'object of study'. Instead, argues Preiser, the broadening and deepening of our ways of knowing the world, requires a shift in thinking.[67] One shift is that new knowledge strategies[68] do not leave us with

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[56] Franck, K.A. 'Environmental Design Research: the Words we Use', in *The Death and Life of Social Factors.* www.ced.berkely.edu/downloads/events/sp11/ucb_death-life-social-factors-2011_conference_publication.pdf>

[57] See p.5 above.

[58] Preiser, R. *The Problem of Complexity. Re-thinking the Role of Critique,* p.26.

[59] Ibid., p.24.

[60] Ibid., p.4; See also Engelbrecht, C. 'Max Horkheimer and Environmental History. A Case for the Greater Kowie Region (Eastern Cape, South Africa).'' 2013. <independent.academia.edu/christoengelbrecht/papers>, pp.1-15.

[61] Preiser, R. *The Problem of Complexity. Re-thinking the Role of Critique,* p.23.

[62] Ibid., p.4.

[63] Engelbrecht, C. 'Traditional and Critical Theory - Any Relevance for Aspects of Eastern Cape (South Africa) History?' 2013. <independent.academia.edu.christoengelbrecht/papers>, pp.1-14.

[64] Horkheimer, M. and T.W. Adorno. *Dialectic of Enlightenment. Philosophical Fragments,* p.(xiv). See also Horkheimer, M. *Dawn & Decline. Notes 1926-1931 and 1950-1969,* p.19.

[65] Preiser, R. *The Problem of Complexity. Re-thinking the Role of Critique,* p.14.

[66] Preiser, R. 'Wat is Kompleksiteit?' 2012. <www.litnet.co.za/Article/wat-is-kompleksiteit>

[67] Preiser, R. *The Problem of Complexity. Re-thinking the Role of Critique,* p.15, 27. See also Kuhn, T.S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions.*

[68] Preiser, R. *The Problem of Complexity. Re-thinking the Role of Critique,* p.20.

'either/or' choices, but rather with an 'and/and' situation.[69] In our view, there are two further shifts. Preiser mentioned experiencing complexity as a *mode of being*.[70] The second shift is her reference to Cilliers' 'complexity attitude'.[71] There is a taxing difficulty here about the relationship between fact and fiction. I will merely raise the issue.

The manner in which people focus their attention on the production and contests of spaces, depend on their versions that are either literal, denotational or verbal. It represents either scientific or meta-scientific worldmaking. As a result, various versions of visions, depictions and descriptions of space, differ from say, pictures or words thereof. In a sense then, one can argue that depictions and descriptions cannot literally denote anything. If this is correct, then how can versions of nothing be productive in the actual making of worlds? They are, at best, only metaphorical truths which are the reverse of metaphorical falsity. It is all mere fiction then, which applies neither to nothing, nor to 'diaphanous possible worlds but, albeit metaphorically, to actual worlds'.[72]

The reality is that the ways we think, the perceptions we have, how we make our worlds, and how we then live therein, are closely related to our perceptions of fact and theory[73] – the indistinctness of both, remains unresolved.

3. Traditional views of the concept politics of space

Traditionally, the concept 'politics of space' literally referred to a public open-air gathering place, e.g. a square (Nelson Mandela Square in Sandton, South Africa), park, or plaza. The creation of such spaces is usually commissioned by e.g. local city planners, by Provincial Government, National Government, or their designated agencies. For Preiser, it is no longer tolerable[74] to understand public spaces in terms of government hierarchical structures. Preiser defined related complexity as "the interdisciplinary understanding of reality as composed of complex open systems with emergent properties and transformational potential."[75] Having studied the wide range of literature available on complexity, Preiser's conclusion identified common characteristics in Theories of Complexity.[76] This definition and characteristics are valuable for the understanding of politics of space and would go a long way to address its complex nature.

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[69] Ibid., p.17.
[70] Ibid., p.28.
[71] Ibid., p.39.
[72] Goodman, N. *Ways of Worldmaking,* p.104.
[73] Engelbrecht, C. 'Limitations in History. Part I. Problems with Historical Facts.' <independent.academia.edu.christoengelbrecht/papers> 2013, pp.1-12; Engelbrecht, C. 'Limitations in History. Part II. Theory and Eastern Cape Historical Research.' 2012. <http://independent.academia.edu.christoengelbrecht/papers>, pp.1-12.
[74] Preiser, R. *The Problem of Complexity. Re-thinking the Role of Critique,* p.36.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid., pp.40-42.

For instance, when M. Gabel and S. Hix studied the election manifestos of various European Union parties, they worked with the dimensions, locations and actors involved in policy space.[77] Without wanting to state the obvious, their seamless relationship seems beyond doubt. This methodology enabled them to point towards the "structure" of EU political space. With regards to politics of space, they made two points that we consider relevant for this study: first, that in the traditional sense, policy space 'is to derive its dimensionality where dimensions represent constraints on the policy positions of political actors'.[78] Policy and space, they agreed, are inextricably linked. Political structure, for one, imposes limitations on space and to a large degree determines its characteristics. Their second point refers to the one-dimensionality and multidimensional character of space.[79] Not surprisingly, space has also been described as being 'a boundless three-dimensional extent in which objects and events occur and have relative position and direction'.[80] In this way the fuzziness is understated.

From time to time, both government and public citizenry are users (claimants) of same scarce spaces. Spaces harbour not only a political connotation, since the ownership and purpose for use thereof need to reconcile the diverse interests and claims. They often need to be negotiated between interested parties. In short, an agreement between interested parties is required for the authoritative allocation of this scarce resource (space) for mutual use. Since space is a scarce resource, it becomes contested at more than one level and in a variety of contexts. For instance, contested spaces are often high profile spaces.[81] For government, it often serves as gathering places in times of crises; for celebrations; the use of political meetings or iconic burials. For the public, it serves as gathering places for demonstrations; the handing over of petitions to Government, or where to meet to serve cultural interests, e.g. commemoration. Ironically, we have now arrived at a place rather different from our opening remarks in the introduction about the so-called 'limitlessness of space'. Since this seems not to be the case, space is therefore contested.

Modern society as we know it, changed dramatically after 9/11. The politics of public spaces are today driven by interests of national and international security and *vice versa.* In other words, all sorts of other drivers also influence the politics of such space, e.g. political parties, pressure groups, gender, environmental, mega-natural disasters, health, economic/financial, mass culture and religious.

Naturally, space also refers to space within e.g. a building in the built-environment,[82] e.g. a shop or office, or space in a building outside the built-environment, e.g. a farm house. In its most diminutive

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[77] Gabel, M. and S. Hix. 'Defining the EU Political Space. An Empirical Study of the European Elections Manifestos', in *Comparative Political Studies,* Vol.35, No.8, October 2002, p.934.

[78] Ibid., p.935.

[79] Ibid., p.948. See also <studio-render.com/blog/?p=160> 'Is Space Political?' 24 February 2010.

[80] Ibid.

[81] See also Engelbrecht C. 'Early Critical Theory, Racket Theory, and the Arms Deal for South Africa.' 2013. <independent.academia.edu.christoengelbrecht/papers>, pp.1-59.

[82] see also Engelbrecht C. 'The Politicking of Space and a Local Museum.' 2013. <independent.academia.edu.christoengelbrecht/papers>, pp.1-16.

form, it is probably a house, but where is the line drawn – can it not be a room in that house, e.g. a study? In 'Political Landscape' Nicholas Nardini discussed the conceptions of space as held by Wendell and Samuels-Ado, respectively.[83] To understand social conflict and consensus,[84] they treated space in primarily the built environment, e.g. Long Island Rail Road yards. R. Ghosn, for instance, referred to e.g. railway lines as 'spaces of flow'.[85] The focus on planning, financing and engineering of spaces, necessitate reception, representation and interpretation, and disparate methodologies. This includes the relation of the politics of space revolutions and protests.[86] Applied to South Africa this relation refers to apartheid's fortified residences and segregated suburbs, as unique gated communities that excluded large portions of the population. Special and political analysis of contemporary problems, include the literal interpretation of space, e.g. the concrete matter and manner of resettlement planning vs. the fictional interpretation of space.[87]

4. **The Hornecker model**

In order to understand politics related to space, E. Hornecker and J. Buur developed a 'Tangible Interaction Framework' with themes and concepts.[88] Soon they wanted to expand on the design of the physical in order to arrive at *new types of interaction.* This approach was multidisciplinary – ranging from computing, architecture to interactive arts – in order to come to terms with the notion of 'tangible interaction'. For this purpose, Hornecker developed four themes or perspectives about tangible interaction in support of the reality of human social interaction. Her principle question asked: what is the role of physicality in tangible interaction?[89] The resultant four themes were: tangible manipulation; embedded facilitation; expressive representation; and spatial interaction.[90] The interest for our purposes is in spatial interaction – being embedded in real space and therefore occurring by movement in space. Since interfaces take up space, they are situated in places,[91] e.g. inhabited space. There were three different views to these themes: a data-centred view; an expressive-Movement-centred view; and a space-centred view. The space-centred view considered knowledge from e.g. interactive arts and architecture. It is from that perspective, 'interactive spaces'[92] were born.

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[83] Nardini, N. 'Political Landscape', in *Harvard Colloquy*, Fall 2012, pp.23-25.
[84] Ibid., p.23.
[85] Ghosn, R. 'The Territoriality of the Trans-Arabian Pipeline', in *The Death and Life of Social Factors.* <www.ced.berkely.edu/downloads/events/sp11/ucb_death-life-social-factors-2011_conference_publication.pdf>
[86] Nardini, N. 'Political Landscape', in *Harvard Colloquy*, Fall 2012, p.24.
[87] Ibid., p.25.
[88] See figure 1, in Hornecker, E. and J. Buur. 'Getting a Grip on Tangible Interaction. A Framework on Physical Space and Social Interaction.' <www.ehornecker.de/Papers/FrameworkCHI.pdf>
[89] Hornecker, E. 'Physicality in Tangible Interaction: Bodies and the World.' <www.ehornecker.du/Papers/TangibleBodies.pdf>, p.1.
[90] Ibid., p.2.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.

In contemporary life, cultural and psychological manifestations of space and place together with their associated implications for the construction of subjectivities including the exercise of power and accompanying resistance, necessitated multi-disciplinary investigation and inter-science collaboration. The so-called 'affective turn' in humanities and social sciences, opened a debate on the relationship between bodies and spaces, and how these concepts may relate to the politics of specific spaces. Such manifest themselves in specific sites, landscapes or public open spaces which need theoretical and methodological clarification. Examples are: community spaces, zones of conflict, spaces of collective or individual memory, racialised spaces, and spaces of occupation and resistance.

In discussing how contemporary 'Paris compete in glamour with the hyper-vertical, aggressive masculinity of Dubai's skyscrapers',[93] G. Gordillo is of the view that we can learn substantially about present day's affective spatiality of global capitalism. He used concepts of 'spatial-political threat' and 'revolutionary spatial engineering'. The former has to do with the threat the political spaces processes when, for instance, the citizenry revolt, say against the political order in a city, in this case, Paris. When authorities thereafter remodel society thereafter to gain, regain or want to continue to restore civil harmony, they engage in 'revolutionary spatial engineering'.[94] Furthermore, when the authorities created urban space that in future would be easier to police, Gordillo termed such the making of 'smooth space'. Smooth space has no obstacles and when the masses got involved to act against government, e.g. class differences, gender differences, etc., all hindrances collapse. The very idea of 'public space' is dissolved because streets were democratised[95] – meaning reclaimed by the citizenry, for the citizenry. The recent Arab Spring (from December 2010 onwards), testifies hereto.

5. Politics of space as a form of worldmaking

To set the scene for this discussion, a few observations about Lefebvre and later Goodman's treatise of worldmaking provide the framework for understanding a gated community in Seafield.

The concept 'worldmaking' arose from the desire to elevate worldmaking as a scientific form of art – one that creates fictional worlds. In worldmaking, emphasis on places is important – places of a 'new world' that will differ distinctively from the known world. It is a world with its own unique history and geography.[96] Within this history and geography, public open spaces are expressions of the will of the users thereof, and (in) their social life. They are not only culturally influenced; culturally bound, but public open spaces are also the producers of culture and identity, and so it gains their own

[93] Gordillo, G. 'Bringing the Paris Commune Back to Life', in *Space and Politics.* <spaceandpolitics.blogspot.com> 29 May 2013.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] See <spoonbot.com/worldmaking.htm>

new public identities.[97] In this way, gated communities, for instance, have gained and created (produced) its own privatised space[98] relative to its unique expressions thereof.

Worldmaking was defined by W.E. Creed (et. al.) as 'the embedded ways in which agents relate to and shape systems of meaning and mobilize collective action to change social arrangements'.[99] Seen in this way, worldmaking is a form of *techné*[100] – predated by the concept *praxis.* Generally speaking, the German word *praxis* refers to human action or activity, as does the English word *practice*, yet human action (activity) and human practice, are not identical. Practice is the act of doing something, and is usually contrasted to theory – practice is concrete; it is applied knowledge employed to solve problems. Theory, on the other hand, is abstract, and often exists only as an idea about something from which general principles can be derived. Clearly, theory (as is the case with philosophy) is applied to practical human activities, and thus follows the view that theory and practice have a symbiotic relationship.

The ancient Greeks used the word *praxis* (πράσις) to refer to almost any kind of activity that a free person conducts – in particular, those in business and political activities. However, an action that generates an external object is *poiesis* (ποιης). Therefore the argument is that all *praxis* refers to action, but not all human actions are *praxis.*[101] In early Greek philosophy, the activities of people consisted of three basic kinds: *praxis*; *theoreia* and *poiésis.* In turn, they formed the basis to arrive at three *basic kinds of knowledge,* which were: *theoretical* knowledge (or truth); *poietical* knowledge for producing something, and *practical* knowledge, for action itself – usually in the endeavours of economics, ethics and politics.

In medieval scholastic philosophy, *praxis* became the application of theory as found in the distinction between theoretical and practical geometry. The belief was that to be practical, was to have applied theory included in *praxis.* Then, for Francis Bacon (d.1626), practical knowledge was useful in the sense that it was regarded as applied knowledge, for everyday life. John Locke (d.1704) divided all knowledge into *fysikè, praktikè* and s*emeiotikè.* Locke's criticism of Aristotelian philosophy was threefold: that they practiced haphazard, uncritical collection of data; that they generalized too hastily, and that they relied on induction by simple enumeration.[102]

The advent of German Idealist philosophical tradition of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, brought far-reaching and complicated changes about thinking of knowledge – yet some related to

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[97] Fernando, N. 'Identifying Place Identity: The Role of Social and Cultural Use of Public Space', in *The Death and Life of Social Factors.* <www.ced.berkely.edu/downloads/events/sp11/ucb_death-life-social-factors-2011_conference_publication.pdf>

[98] Landman, K. 'Gated Communities: Utopian Vision of necessary Evil?', in *Essays 69 Innovate,* No.4, 2010. <web.up.ac.za/sitefiles/file/44/1026/2163/8121>

[99] Creed, W.E., M.A. Scully, and J.R. Austin. 'Clothes Make the Person? Tailoring of Legitimating Accounts and the Social Construction of Identity', in *Organisation Science,* Vol.13, No.5, 2002, p.475.

[100] De Campo, A., M-D. Hosale, and S. Murrani. 'Worldmaking as *Techné. Employing World of Participatory Art, Architecture, and Music.*' <worldmakingastechne.net>

[101] Vázquez, A.S. *The Philosophy of Praxis,* pp.1, 149.

[102] Losee, J. *A Historical Introduction to the Philosophy of Science,* p.63.

revolutionary politics of the Enlightenment. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) is important for an understanding of modern views regarding the theory of knowledge and of modern-day society. He debated the synthesis between rationalism and empiricism in the sense that objectivity of scientific and common sense judgements are to be defended, but that metaphysical judgements be rejected. This would influence our everyday practical and moral lives. Our understanding of the world is not only dependent on the accumulation of empirical facts. *Praxis* is more than the application of theory (*theoretical*) – it is also ethically relevant human behaviour (*practical*) daily life. Take war for instance. Surely war is waged about space – to invade and colonize directly, or to indirectly control the politics in that space. In the process of war, Von Clausewitz recommended that the best strategy is to be strong and forces be kept concentrated.[103] Two obvious points stand out: relative power relations, and domination of some form.

After the above detour, the sensible thing would be to return to worldmaking and consider Lefebvre's pioneering contribution during the mid-1970s. Lefebvre's contribution is at least twofold: his new focus of analysis and critique, and secondly, that our interest should change from 'means of production' to the 'production of space'.[104] This makes production of space an analytical tool but at the same time also a political object. Means of production refers to the instruments necessary and things (objects) in space, (e.g. a factory) of the actual production of space itself. This is a shift from producing, to re-producing. A popular example is how space produces and perpetuates capitalism, and in so doing result in e.g. the class structure in society. A summary of Ritzer and Goodman's discussion of Lefebvre's tripartite distinction will assist to give the minimum background for an understanding.

Firstly, according to them, Lefebvre dealt with *spatial practice* which involves the production and reproduction of space. Two concepts are important: representations of space and representational spaces. *Representations of space* are such that is perceived by the elites in society, e.g. architects or urban planners. They regard this space as 'true' space and equate it to an absolute truth. For instance, urban renewal becomes (and is, in part), urban removals. In capitalist society, the elites then dominate the 'renewal' process and through the process of removal, perpetuate self-interest. In this sense, special practices were fundamentally changed. *Representational space*, on the other hand, is the 'truth of space', meaning, lived space. Because it is lived experience, it reflects what really happens. Representational space collapses into representations of space when the elite are threatened and the experiences in the lived spaces are replaced by a new, hegemonic position.

Lefebvre's second key term of the tripartite distinction is *absolute spaces.* Such are characterized by the more material, or the "natural" nature thereof. The example given is "green areas." This is space that has previously not been colonised or transformed by economic or political interferences – it is free from human interventions. Lefebvre spent more time explaining *abstract spaces.* Similar to

[103] Von Clausewitz, C. *On War,* p.276.
[104] Ritzer, G. and D.J. Goodman. *Sociological Theory,* p.298.

representations of space, abstract spaces are those of an abstract subject, as referred to above, by urban planners, for instance. Abstract feature is characterized by the absence (non-existence) of those characteristics found in absolute space, e.g. trees. Another approach to absolute space is "repressive space" since it is dominated, occupied controlled and even authoritarian by nature. Again, it is predominantly the influence of the state rather than economic forces that exercise the power. In real terms, the power deployed is hidden – not out there to be seen. The power comes from the ruling classes to control absolute space, their control leads to the extension of control over wider or adjacent absolute spaces. Factories, for example, control absolute spaces, but factories produce goods that need to be transported or distributed in and to, other spaces – so e.g. railway lines or freeways fulfil the function of expanding absolute space.

Lastly, Lefebvre's third type of space is *differential space*. Here the focus is on difference and freedom from control. It breaks up unity but also restores unity.

Lefebvre also discussed various roles of space. In the first place, space is one of many forms of production. Space is therefore a commodity that can be consumed but also consumed productively (e.g. a factory). It serves as a political instrument that facilitates control in, and of, society. Space underpins reproduction of the productive and property relations. Space does not have to be "natural" space and can take on the form of a superstructure (e.g. a railway line). Finally, there is always a positive potential in space, e.g. the creating of truly human and creative work in it – the *re*-appropriating of space on behalf of the controlled and exploited in society[105] when they re-take the space. How we re-take space, is a specific way of worldmaking.

6. Ways of worldmaking

An overview of Goodsman's treatise of worldmaking provided the framework of understanding a gated community in Seafield.

On the one hand, part of worldmaking consists of taking apart and then putting together again. Wholes are divided into parts. Complexes are analysed into its constituent features between which distinctions can be drawn. On the other hand, wholes and kinds act as parts of bigger complexes through a process of making connections. Consequently, Goodman identified five ways of worldmaking: composition and decomposition; weighting; ordering; deletion and supplementation, and lastly, deformation.

Composition and decomposition are concerned with making use of e.g. labels, names, predicates, gestures, or pictures.[106] Temporally events are classified under proper names or are identified as making up an 'object' or a 'person'. In essence, this is a new form that has been composed, or having restored the new domain and associating it to the old one. The identification for what is new is based

[105] Ibid., p.297.
[106] Goodman, N. *Ways of Worldmaking,* p.7.

on the organizing thereof into like entities and kinds. It takes care of different events in the same class, e.g. different gated communities in a same suburb. This is not a new world, but one that differs from the previous in the sense that not everything belonging to one, also belongs to the other. Despite old and newly tested common hypotheses, the world differs in its response to theoretical, rather than to practical needs.[107]

Secondly, in *weighting*, although the relevant kinds are missing from one another, the two worlds (old and new) have the same classes. However, they are sorted differently into relevant and irrelevant kinds.[108] In some instances, relevant kinds that are present in some, are absent in others. In such case, they are not necessarily considered as irrelevant. This means that the differences are in emphasis and accent, rather than differences in entities. These differences serve different purposes. In the extreme, conflicting purposes can lead to irreconcilable emphasis between stakeholder claims.[109] Weighting is a question of emphasis and of hierarchies, rather than dichotomies – it is more about type of particular ordering.

So, when worldmaking is also achieved through *ordering*, it is not so much about different entities as it is about different orderings of the same and not-same. Nothing is motionless, apart from the frame of reference – it is a given to be in motion. At best, it can only be adopted for a period – this brings us to periodicity and proximity. Order changes with circumstances (proximity) and objectives (periodicity) – it might even change over time. In extreme instances radical reorderings come from heterogeneous observations and other forms of information. The measurements thereof are all based on order – what order is expected, what periodicity and proximities are at stake – this makes time not to be found in the world but rather built into the world.[110] From this it is clear that not everything can be retained in worldmaking. Per definition, it is not possible since one cannot make a world by not making it.

Deletion and supplementation is the fourth way of worldmaking. In making something else, something needs to be taken out, and something needs to be filled in its place or in a new constituent place. But since people are people, our ability to overlook, requires that supplementation needs to happen for what has been left out as a result of oversight, for instance. It may require that humans find what they are prepared (subjectivity vs. *a priory*) to find and if blind to what is needed to find, it hinders efforts in worldmaking. In both instances, we are up against our own memory.[111] Human supplementation is necessary to achieve real ordering. Thus, what people have made, have a different formation.

Lastly then, through *deformation*, our worldmaking takes on a different perspective. Humans have changed and reshaped, or even deformed the old, from a particular perspective. Now (or in/for the

[107] Ibid., pp.8-9.
[108] Ibid., p.10.
[109] Ibid., p.11.
[110] Ibid., pp.12-13.
[111] Ibid., p.14.

future), we want what we want in a certain way – not just any other way. This took place in accordance with considered options – certain connections were made, or distortions caused, or brought about.[112] In discussing the politics of identity in Cairo, F. Ghannam gave an example of 'young men are the first to suffer when a crime is committed in the neighbourhood'.[113] The same is relevant in an example of gender stereotyping where the movement of girls are controlled at night.[114] American literature, and popular culture, is peppered with examples of the racial Other with regards police perceptions and treatment of black Americans in relation to scenes of street crime and how the processes that influence the negotiation of their respective spaces[115] are clouded by preconceived ideas.

7. Gated communities in general and Sun Acres in specific

Gated communities have a long history. The first gated community in the USA is said to date back to 1853 when Llewellyn Park in Eagle Ridge, of the West Orange township of New Jersey, was developed by a New York businessman, L.S. Haskell. Llewellyn Park was from the beginning an enclosed estate for affluent families.

A gated community is described as a physical area that is separated from its surroundings by a fence or a wall, prohibiting or controlling access by means of gates or booms. It refers to a residential area with restricted access. In this sense, public spaces are privatised or their use restricted. It provides controlled access for the residents, service providers for various forms work, and commercial and/or other residential purposes. Gated communities are a global phenomenon and often experience a strong relationship between crime and income.[116]

Historically, worldmaking in South African has been closely related to military contesting of space. Whether viewed from a racially- or class-based ideological perspective, the intentions of gated minds to uphold the 'relationship between state, citizen, political'[117] and cultural belonging, never really succeeded in the dissolving of racial dis-unity. For centuries, the geopolitical and racial/class limitations were upheld. In a sense, according to some commentators in the South Africa, such diversity spilled over into gated communities.

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[112] Ibid., p.15.
[113] Ghannam, F. *Remaking the Modern. Space, Relocation, and the Politics of Identity in a Global Cairo,* p.115.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Tibe-Bonifacio, G.L.A. *Filipino Women and their Citizenship in Australia: in Search of Political Space.* Ph.D. thesis, School of History and Politics, University of Wollongong, p.91.
[116] Landman, K. *A National Survey of Gated Communities in South Africa,* pp.1-2.
[117] Bell, D. 'The Project for a New Anglo Century: Race, Space and Global Order', in P. Katzenstein (ed.) *Anglo-American and its Discontents: Civilized Identities Beyond West and East,* in www.ademia.edu/1948111/_The_Project_for_a_New_Anglo_Century_Race_Space_and_Global_Order_in_Peter_Katzenstein_ed._Anglo_America_and_its_, pp.40-41.

South African gated communities generally include enclosed neighbourhoods (existing neighbourhoods that have been closed off, often retrospectively) and often large security villages (a range of private developments that have been planned in this way).[118] According to Le Roux however, '[g]ated [c]ommunities are simply members of a local community who have come together, predominantly for security reasons, and simply agree to work together but are not legally bound to one another in terms of a constitution with no legal restrictions on their title deed.'[119] He continued that '[g]ated communities are still supplied (serviced) by the local municipalities, with the members of the community not paying monthly levies or relying on a central organisation with the community to handle the services.'[120]

The rise of South African gated communities in the 1980s was at first a metropolitan phenomenon. Today this is no longer the case. At the heart of the need for gated communities is the desire for safe and secure living. As the political insecurity and a more militarized society intensified during the '80s and '90s, so did the need for protected living space also increase. In later years, the majority of recorded crimes were property crimes – approximately 55 per cent of the total crime.[121] For instance, in 2010–2012, 15,609 murders and 16,766 house breaks were recorded[122] in South Africa. In a sense, post-1994 is furthermore characterized by economic and financial considerations that gave rise to greater impetus to this living phenomenon. Today, security villages and enclosed neighbourhoods are widespread in South Africa – in fact, it is sought after real estate. Protection against violent crimes and property crime are major (but not the only) drivers to live in such gated communities. Between 1994 and 2012, an approximate 360,000 murders were recorded in South Africa.[123]

Security villages, whether small townhouse complexes, larger office parks, or luxury estates, offer high security characteristics whilst at the same time taking community lifestyle into consideration.[124] As a result developers and owners use a wide variety of methods to improve their security. To name a few: closed-circuit cameras, in-house movement detector alarms systems, in-house panic response buttons, burglar bars either on the outside and/or inside of the dwelling, motorized security gates, fences and or walls around the property, guard dogs, or even armed guards at the entrance.

In addition to crime and the need for security, Landman gave the following variables that need to be taken into consideration to understand the motivation for living as gated communities: the fear of

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[118] Landman, K. 'Gated Communities: Utopian Vision of Necessary Evil?', in *Essays 69 Innovate,* No.4, 2010. <web.up.ac.za/sitefiles/file/44/1026/2163/8121>

[119] Le Roux, J. 'HOAs vs Gated Community – Difference?', <www.property24.com/articles/hoa-vs-gated-community-difference/15788?gelid=CPXOLXd>

[120] Ibid.

[121] Landman, K., R. Koen, M. Tswai, P. Schmitz, and L. Smit. *A National Survey of Gated Communities in South Africa.* CSIR Building and Construction Technology. Programme for Sustainable Human Settlements. (Project Number: BP 565. Boutek Report Number: BOU/I 257.) CSIR., Pretoria, p.3.

[122] Van der Merwe, J. 'Armoede, onbeholpe polisie moet nie die skuld kry – instituut', in *Rapport Nuus,* 14 July 2013, p.8.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Landman, K. *Gated Communities in South Africa: Comparison of Four Case Studies in Gauteng,* p.11.

victimization on the one hand, drives people to live in a secure environment.[125] But at the same time they want to be free from fortressed homes.[126] Gated communities give a park-like environment and peace of mind.[127] It gives a proximity to nature and supports such lifestyle.[128] There is a sense of wanting to live the same common social values in the community that develops its own identity.[129] Owning property in most gated communities requires a relatively significant financial investment and it must make financial/business sense for owners (prospective owners) to do so.[130] Such properties vary greatly in purchase price and together with additional costs, need to be well calculated before embarking thereon in order to minimize financial risk. With the current low levels of governmental service delivery to all communities in South Africa, homeowners in gated communities want to be in control of their own destiny, and want to enhance greater efficiencies of services. This represents their move towards greater independency.[131] No doubt, there is an element of status, prestige and exclusivity (elitism) that surrounds gated community lifestyle.[132]

The Sun Acres estate comprises of 21 upper middle-class 3-bedroomed duplex townhouses, situated on 2,8 hectares coastal forest land. The perimeter boundary is approximately one kilometre. The complex was built in 1989s by the developer Bradfield for Sun International Hotel Group as management staff accommodation for the newly established Fish River Sun Casino (March 1989), some ten kilometres along the R72 tarred road to East London. By 1993 the project faced difficulties since some contractual obligations were not met. Subsequently part payment was withheld and Sun Acres was put on tender. The first private owners started buying from 1995 and thus the complex changed from management staff housing accommodation to private ownership. First generation private owners bought their units mainly as holiday, retirement or investment real estate.

Today, Sun Acres is managed by four or five trustees who are owner members, annually elected by the members (owners) to manage the day to day affairs on behalf of all. An independent managing agent in Port Alfred manages the financial affairs and the books are audited annually by an independent auditing firm. The individual units were initially sold to the first generation owners for about R110,000. Currently, the selling price per unit is about R800,000 – R850,000. Various real estate agents operating in Seafield act as third party selling/letting agents on behalf of owners or prospective owners. Twelve units have a single garage in a freestanding garage wing. In addition, each unit has open parking for one vehicle and in total a further 12 parking areas are available for

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[125] Landman, K., R. Koen, M. Tswai, P. Schmitz, and L. Smit. *A National Survey of Gated Communities in South Africa.* CSIR Building and Construction Technology. Programme for Sustainable Human Settlements. (Project Number: BP 565. Boutek Report Number: BOU/I 257.) CSIR., Pretoria, 2003, p.19

[126] Ibid., p.21.

[127] Ibid., p.20.

[128] Ibid., p.23.

[129] Ibid., pp.21-22.

[130] Ibid., p.22.

[131] Ibid., p.23.

[132] Ibid., p.24.

visitors. The immediate built areas are well lit at night using energy-saving day/night globes. For security reasons, some members prefer to also have one light switching on at night on the outside of their units to light up the immediate are. This drives away the ‘dark spots’ and collectively enhances the setting at night. To that end two energy-saving floodlights were installed at two ‘dark spots’. All units have wooden decks leading from their first floors, facing the sea and in three instances, two decks – the second facing north. Sea-facing decks give the opportunity to view the sea from some 650 m away. Depending of the wind direction, the sound of crushing waves is clear at night. Some units overlooks the swimming pool.

From the beginning, almost all units were sold to owners as holiday real estate. However, from time to time a few units are occupied by owners on a permanent or semi-permanent basis. Letting of the units is the exception rather than the norm. Most letting takes place during mid-December to early January each year during annual school holidays. This is also the most popular time for owners to holiday at Sun Acres – about 50-60 per cent does so during December. For some owners, their Sun Acres holiday duplex home is a preferred, but not the exclusive, holiday destination. In a few instances, owners hardly ever use their units. Almost all units belong to middle-aged owners. Immediate family and friends use and/or share the units during the Festive Season and or Easter holidays. The current owners are by profession and location, a diverse group. Some of the professions include industrial psychologist, educational marketer, building construction, mining, general management, teachers and educational writer, fresh water exploration, university senior academics, financial management, farming and retailing. Some expat contracts are in Dubai, Uganda, Zambia, Pakistan and the Central African Republic.

Sun Acres has specific characteristics. It is a quiet, tranquil setting with large lawns, many indigenous trees and large well developed garden areas. The large garden requires a substantial volume of scarce and expensive water resource on a regular basis. Subsequently, recent gardening thinking expands on the indigenous water-wise species and the elimination of invasive alien species. There are six 5,000 litre water tanks that are supplied by rainwater on a gravity feed basis from roofs of various units. These tanks were installed over a period of time to serve as emergency water supply when water restrictions are enforced by the local authorities in times of severe drought. In addition, further roofs feed a central 195,000 litre water reservoir equipped with an electric water pump. About 70% of this reservoir water is used for gardening purposes and to keep the swimming pool water at the required level. The birdlife is healthy and gives an ambiance conducive to relaxing and typical quiet holiday making. Owners drive or casually walk the 700 m to the Kleinemonde East Estuary for fishing mainly offshore, to bathe in the estuaries or enjoy leisurely walks along the 5 km pristine sandy beach. There are no commercial activities at the estuaries or beach area.

The general routine upkeep and improvement of the gardens and physical (including the built) amenities, take place in accordance with a predetermined monthly works plan. The annual capital budget for improvement and major repairs and maintenance projects, is approved/amended at the

Annual General meeting, usually around Easter time. Non-attending owner members vote *in absentia* by proxy.

Sun Acres is a gated community. An electric remote controlled gate was installed in 2009 after a private vehicle was stolen earlier that year at night from the estate. Two battery powered remote controls were issued to the owners of each unit. This provides free and independent access to and from the estate. Adjacent to this gate is a pedestrian gate that is locked at 17h00 in the afternoons and unlocked at 07h00 each morning. This arrangement provides for e.g. servants to enter to clean individual units on behalf of absentee-owners and other personnel to fulfil their tasks. Service providers need to arrange for permission for the gate to be opened in order to enter the estate. In addition, the estate has a 1.2 km fence around the perimeter. Some owners have elected to employ an independent security company to respond on alarm signals recorded at the control centre. This company has its own access remote controls to facilitate ease of access at all times. Most units are fitted with burglar bars and/or retractable security gates (e.g. Trellidor™ or Expanda™ -type), and infra-red sensor movement detectors.

Conclusion

Humans are moving towards, and not away, from metaphysics. Contemporary mega-crises compel worldmaking in that direction in an endeavour to critically re-assess the current status of life and living on Earth.

Whereas our singular world has been the subject of traditional metaphysics and empiricism, our contemporary real multiverse world reflects a variety of multi forms. Traditional philosophy used to have the last say on the world – today, the philosophy of Critical Theory, has the first[133] – that is, about how we think, make, and manage our worlds and the space thereof, including ourselves therein. Nowadays humans claim virtual space and time for themselves in a manner that reflects their connectedness with their new world. This makes both Critical theory and worldmaking worthwhile normative pursuits.

In attempting to comprehend the central issues of the politics of space, it seems necessary to understand the more peripheral ones in terms of the 'core relationship between space and social things'[134] and what they mean. At the global level for instance, the struggle for geopolitical space is about power – it seems to be geo-economic power.[135] But in some instances, at the micro-level,

[133] Epstein, M. 'The Art of Wold Making', in *Philosophy Now,* May/June 2013. <philosophynow.org/issues/95/The_Art_of_World_Making>

[134] Amedeo, D. 'The Inextricable Natural Dependence of the Social with the Spatial in Environmental Design: Empirical and Logical Demonstrations', in *The Death and Life of Social Factors.* <www.ced.berkely.edu/downloads/events/sp11/ucb_death-life-social-factors-2011_conference_publication.pdf>

[135] Tauthail, O.G. *Critical Geopolitics. The Politics of Writing Global Space,* pp.1, 3.

security considerations seem to be major drivers for worldmaking. In view of the above treatment of gated communities, the challenges associated with the subjugation and management of space are no longer only confined to the territorial,[136] regional or global. In the context of this article, the Sun Acres community is an example of a 'self-consciously constructed' mini-public.[137] Its history has shown that the current politics of its space is the result from a move away from an initially economically contested space, to a situation where the current politics of space is also based on security and lifestyle considerations. In a sense, that virtual world so created, is not static, but changes in harmony with the physical, political economic social and other, laws of our planet. It can be argued, that in accordance with W-K Lui, for instance, that the politics of space of Sun Acres represents the spatial appropriation in line with the aims of upholding a specific everyday cultural life[138] of this gated community. Against the background of the definition of politics of space, the owners re-territorialised the Sun Acres space. The encounters of different cultures are shaped by respective world-views – each interpreting its own at the expense of the 'Other' and in so doing, creating new stereotypical worlds.[139]

The language used is not only a limiting but also a minimum requirement for the study of politics of space. It is necessary to understand meaning for understanding the complexities of politics of space. It manifests itself no longer in terms of a specific concrete place (literal space), but in post-modern terms, rather as an attitude – a mode of being. For instance, when considerations are given to the 'urban transformation of public areas by diverse and cumulative forms of appropriation by different users and purposes',[140] then we enter into the realm where the impact of imperialism is closely linked to humanitarian design, and how such imposes ideology.[141]

Such is no longer a sustainable explanation. For that reason, owners deal with the transformative dynamics of space from a get-away-from, to a relaxation-mode within the politics of their space *viz.* in this case, Sun Acres. One everyday example will suffice: since 2011, a determined effort has been made to systematically transform the gardens of Sun Acres by eliminating invasive alien plants with a high water demand. More water-wise indigenous and succulent plants with eco-compatible

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[136] Ibid., p.3.

[137] Bohman, J. 2005. 'Critical Theory', in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* p.35. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/critical-theory/> 2005.

[138] Lui, W-K. 'Visualizing Social Factors: Empirical Observations of Everyday Life in the Historic Urban Spaces of Central Tainan', in *The Death and Life of Social Factors.* <www.ced.berkely.edu/downloads/events/sp11/ucb_death-life-social-factors-2011_conference_publication.pdf>

[139] Vernon, G. *Shipwreck Survivors in South-East Africa 1552 – 1782*, p.167.

[140] Carvalho, T. 'Public Open Spaces – Genesis, Performance and Mutations', in *The Death and Life of Social Factors.* <www.ced.berkely.edu/downloads/events/sp11/ucb_death-life-social-factors-2011_conference_publication.pdf>

[141] Card, K. 'Building the Paradox of Humanitarian Architecture: Constructing Space for Political Engagement', in *The Death and Life of Social Factors.* <www.ced.berkely.edu/downloads/events/sp11/ucb_death-life-social-factors-2011_conference_publication.pdf>

propensities, were introduced. In other words, the weighting of the latter prevailed over the old. It does not stand independent from global considerations of hydropolitics.

With the intensified ANCification of South African society, it is still *in vogue* to blame all current societal ills on *apartheid* and or the legacy thereof. Such political incorrectness gives rise to the decoupling of racial unity within geopolitical confines. To think this will change in the near future is to fall into the trap of practicing a politics of waiting. It is also race-centric and a distortion of real worldmaking. It gives new meaning to the relationship between state, system, political and cultural belonging. Naturally, the rise of gated communities in South Africa is historically inextricably linked to security and safety. It is however, not a sufficient condition for explanation. Other forms of tangible interactions with space, functions in different spheres as well. In the production (*techné*) of such world, our worldly *praxis* distinguishes between but also includes the variants as proposed by Lefebvre. Again, Landman made insightful observations. She wrote: 'The meaning of gated communities in South Africa, therefore, revolves around the notions of terminology, typology and symbolism.'[142] The overemphasis on *apartheid* and its legacies as a sufficient condition of explanation, handcuffs us into gated minds. Instead of the gated Other in contradistinction to the non-gated Other, considerations of the 'and/and' or the Together, might lead to greater wisdom rather than knowledge.[143]

The case of Sun Acres demonstrates 'that urban space is the terrain where power relations confront while dominance and control are being contested.'[144] In a sense it resonates well with the debate about the 'the right to the city'[145] and how, against the backgrounds of Lefebvre and Goodman, how we make our gated worlds. In this sense, and specifically against the previously discussed concepts of gated communities, gated lives and gated minds, then 'challenging border securitization' and 'official gatekeeping strategies'[146] incorporates more than just the literal meaning thereof. When viewed in this sense, traditional South African 'cosmology in its special manifestations, [reflects] the reconstruction of politically and historically meaningful areas'[147] that could otherwise be regarded a paradoxical of modernisation in capitalist society.[148]

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[142] Landman, K., R. Koen, M. Tswai, P. Schmitz, and L. Smit. *A National Survey of Gated Communities in South Africa.* CSIR Building and Construction Technology. Programme for Sustainable Human Settlements. (Project Number: BP 565. Boutek Report Number: BOU/I257.) CSIR., Pretoria, 2003, p.57.

[143] Maxwell, N. *From Knowledge to Wisdom. A Revolution in the Aims and Methods of Science.*

[144] Iliopoulou, E. and P. Karathanasis. "The Right to the City; the Right to the State. Social Justice in War and Peace.' International Conference: Home for Cooperation, Nicosia Buffer Zone. 21-22 September 2012. *From a Buffer Zone to a Common Space: The Right to the City in a Landscape of Conflict,* p.1.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Walsh, J. 'Remapping the Border: Geospatial Technologies and Border Activism', in *Environmental and Planning D: Society and Space.* Advance Online Publication, doi:10.1068/d18112.

[147] Morrison-Lount, B.J. 'Negotiating Identities: Architecture, City Space, and Life After Capital in Post-Socialist _Beijing.' (Abstract.) http://www.academia.edu/5151233/Negotiating_Identities _ Architecture_City- Space_and_Life_after_Capital_in_Post-Socialist_Beijing> n.d.

[148] Honneth, A. '"Paradoxes of Capitalist Modernization." The Foundations of a Comprehensive Research

Gated communities represent a specific form of normative living – that goes further than 'ridigifying political framework and become abstract from 'everyday' struggle' that reflects 'deep psychological afflictions of the mind'.[149]

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Project of the Institute for Social Research.' <www.ifs.uni-frankfurt.de/english/paradox.htm>

[149] Smith, R. C. 'What Does "Social Change'' Mean for You?' <http://heatherwoodpress.com/social-change-you-forum/>

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